



LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

77th Year
1 SEPTEMBER 1978
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THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 8 SEPTEMBER 1978 • No 3,988 • 25p

Colonial New York— the Duke's Province

Teaching history
in schools
by G. R. Elton

The genius of Leskov

Hagarism and Islam

The Gulag in Revolt

The road to Winegate; Beverley Nichols; Whitman and Dr Bucke

Fiction: Christina Stead,
Paul Theroux, Cortazar,
Piovene, Romain Gary



"Portrait du docteur Boucard" from Tamara de Lempicka: The Major Works, 1925-1935 (77p including 57 plates, Idea Editions, 49 Endell Street, London WC2. £3.95). Lempicka, later Baroness Kuffner, one of the pupils of André Lhote, was the subject of a retrospective exhibition at the Galerie du Luxembourg in 1972. In the introduction to the illustrated catalogue *Galerie Lempicka* writes: "The series of portraits presents us with a kind of poster display of the haut bourgeoisie, with glimpses of the aristocracy, between the two wars, in a manner not indifferent to the influence of advertisements for the refinements and conceits of the period."

Annals of the Circus

Commentary:
Haiku in English,
Architects in Edinburgh

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS



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LIBRARIAN**
**OAKMERE LIBRARY,
POTTERS BAR**
AP 11/11 £3,459 - £4,326

Applications are invited from Librarians with at least Part 1 of the Library Association Examination. Further details from Mrs. White, Training / Personnel Officer, Library Headquarters, County Hall, Hertford SG10 1BU. Telephone Hertford 64242. Ext. 2487. Applications within 10 days of the appearance of this advertisement.

REMINDER
COPY FOR CLASSIFIED
ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE
T.L.S. SHOULD ARRIVE
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MONDAY PRECEDING THE
DATE OF PUBLICATION

LIBRARIANS

BIRMINGHAM
THE UNIVERSITY OF
MAIN LIBRARY

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Librarian in the main library. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Birmingham, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

HAMPSHIRE
LIBRARIANS

Applications are invited for the post of Assistant Librarian in the main library. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Hampshire, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

BIRKENHEAD COLLEGE LIBRARY ASSISTANT

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Birkenhead, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

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BRUNEL UNIVERSITY

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CLYDE COUNTY COUNCIL

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Clyde, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Glasgow, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

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HERTFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL

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ROYAL COLLEGE OF VETERINARY SURGEONS

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON LIBRARY

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of London, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

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ILLUSTRATED BOOKS PRIVATE PRESSED THEATRE & DRAMA CATS. 10 & 11

Applications are invited from candidates with a minimum of 1 year's experience in a library or bookshop. The successful candidate will be responsible for the day-to-day running of the library and will be expected to develop the library's services to the community. The salary is £3,459 - £4,326. Applications should be sent to the Director of the University of Illustrated Books, Library Services, 4th Floor, 215, Edgbaston Road, Birmingham B15 2TT. Closing date: 22nd September 1978.

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EXHIBITIONS

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The pursuit of property

By Jack P. Greene

ROBERT C. RITCHIE:
The Duke's Province
A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691

318pp. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. \$15.95.

BUNG BOK KIM:
Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York
Manorial Society 1664-1775
456pp. University of North Carolina Press.

For most of the past century, the American colonial experience has been interpreted largely in terms of two overarching conflicts. The first of these is the contest between the metropolitan and the colonies over the former's efforts to establish closer controls over the latter. The second is the ubiquitous conflict between the privileged and the unprivileged as determined by economic, social, or (particularly in the case of the New England Puritans) religious status. Merely a late nineteenth-century refashioning for an American context of the classic whig interpretation of history, with a modest admixture of early twentieth-century Marxism, this liberal conception of the early American past has come under sharp attack, especially over the past fifteen years, as a result of a massive reinvestigation of virtually every aspect of early American life. Each of these volumes makes an important contribution to this effort.

Still another in a series of recent case studies of the political development of an English colony during a carefully defined period, Robert C. Ritchie's admirably concise, clearheaded, and unpretentious *The Duke's Province* considers New York during the first generation following its conquest from the Dutch in 1664. Like *The Mantram Handbook*, it is a study of the social and political changes in this important period of transition between rough-hewn settlements and established provincial life, including the emergence of a powerful Anglo-Dutch mercantile elite and the rapid concentration of wealth in New York City, the shifting economic balance within this elite in favour of the English, and the

increasing regional variations in social structure. But the volume is essentially a political, and not a social, history.

The proprietary fief of Charles II's brother, the Duke of York, New York was the only English colony of the period that did not have an elected assembly, and the struggle of the English settlers to secure such an institution against the determined resistance of proprietary governors has been the classic theme for this period of New York history. The Duke's persistent reluctance to grant such an institution being seen as a precursor of his more general effort to dispense with representative government in the colonies through the Dominion of New England after he became king in 1685. Earlier scholars, especially Wesley Frank Craven and David S. Lovejoy, have pointed out the simplistic character of this formulation, but no one has previously shown so clearly the extent to which the colonists' demand for representative government was less the "fulfilment of a belief in a liberal ideology" than "an attempt to protect and extend gains made by individuals and local communities."

Ritchie does not deny that New Yorkers, particularly the New Englanders on Long Island, strongly objected to paying taxes levied without their consent. But he argues that the demand for local autonomy and control over the economic resources of their own areas against the aggrandizement of a "powerful political interest group" composed of New York City merchants and fashioned by Sir Edmund Andros in an attempt to consolidate proprietary political power during his governorship between 1673 and 1684, primarily animated the demand—temporarily realized in the mid-1680s during a brief period of proprietary weakness—for a representative assembly. Ritchie's argument suggests the colonists' behaviour was motivated by self-interest rather than lofty

Whether or not such ideals are not often, perhaps invariably, the products of such impulses, Ritchie probably attaches insufficient importance to the New Yorkers' resentment at being—alone among English colonies in America—deprived of the central attribute of

civic competence as defined by early modern Englishmen. To have "an arbitrary and absolute power...exercised over us...and the inhabitants wholly shut out...of any share, voice, or interest in the government" meant, as the New York grand jury poignantly phrased it in 1681 in an address quoted by Ritchie, that "we are esteemed as nothing" and, like all other groups who, because of their assumed unworthiness, were excluded from a civic space, whereby deprived of the most vital ingredient in their identity as free Englishmen.

Yet, if Ritchie may underestimate the force of the colonists' indignation at being thus, in effect, civically emasculated, he is critically persuasive in arguing that Andros's successful "reaction of a court clique of merchants and lawyers" was the "most important long-term result" of the period. Also nourished by the patronage of his successor, Thomas Dongan, who lavished profitable offices, trading concessions, and huge land grants upon his favourite, this privileged coterie, an amalgam of English and assimilating Dutch merchants, formed the nucleus of "an elite group that was to dominate life in New York for over a century." By engrossing an ever more disproportionate share of the colony's economic resources, they also elicited the hatred of rural settlers in the Hudson River Valley and on Long Island and stimulated the growth of a "strong sense of regionalism" that made itself manifest in fierce antagonism to privilege and domination of English and Dutch merchants and other scholars have shown, was an enduring feature of colonial New York politics.

Together with mounting ethnic tensions between the English and the Dutch, who, resentful of growing English economic competition and domination of political office at all levels, longed for a return to the Dutch when they had the colony entirely to themselves, these strains contributed to an explosive situation. That it did not earlier erupt in a massive rebellion is a testimony, Ritchie suggests, to an important original point, to the extreme reluctance of colonists "to overthrow a properly constituted government." Only when authority tilted in the wake of the Glorious Revolution did these combustible materials flintily produce the "ex-

plosions of frustration" that came to be known as Leisler's Rebellion. Primarily the work of men like his leader, the wealthy Dutch merchant, Jacob Leisler, who had never been a part of the group of families that had dominated New York for the previous three decades, this uprising represented a last hurrah for those Dutch who had resisted Anglicization. Far from abating existing tensions, it created new and equally complex divisions that persisted through the following generation without destroying the privileges of the old elite, which came out of the rebellion with its political and economic power stronger than ever.

If Ritchie's book makes it clear that the complex political life of late seventeenth-century New York cannot be understood in terms of a simple conflict between metropolis and colony, Bung Bok Kim's much more ambitious *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York* offers an impressive challenge to the conception of American history as class conflict. Tenantry existed in all of the colonies, even in yeoman New England, but New York was the only one with a large tenant population, six to seven thousand by 1776. In a setting in which so much land was seemingly so easily available, New York's peculiar land system has struck most analysts as anomalous, even un-American. Motivated by what Kim refers to as an "ingrained animus against landlordism" and a correlative "worship of the yeoman," most earlier historians have painted landlordism as a relic of New York in bleak colours, overlooking all the familiar icons—oppressive landlords, exploited and degraded tenants, tenant revolt, and landlord repression—that have been used to depict similar systems in early modern Europe. They have also emphasized its "feudal" character and focused primarily upon the series of violent confrontations that occurred on some New York estates after 1750 and culminated in the eve of the American Revolution, in the "tenant rebellion" of 1766. Going much more deeply into the sources than any previous scholar, Kim has derived the old view at almost every significant point.

About thirty in number, the "great baronial estates" of colonial New York occupied more than two million acres and were about equally divided between manorial and non-manorial patrons. Kim's

book is a detailed "study of its rise, structure and functioning" of the four largest manors: Livingston (160,000 acres), Philipsburgh (92,000 acres), and Cortlandt (86,000 acres). The fourth, the manor of New York City, was the most important, though the Westchester manors produced significant quantities of meat and dairy products for the urban market after 1720. Kim finds that during the fifty years before the American Revolution, "mounting pressures on land resources in the old settlements" and, prior to 1763, warfare on the frontiers, enabled the manors to achieve even more success in attracting settlers than the rest of the colony.

But it was not only these external conditions that made the manors more attractive. "Not a closed community," the manors, Kim reminds us, were "an integral part of American colonial society" and landlords, utterly unable to develop their estates without tenants, had to offer favourable terms to overcome the "avowed reluctance of farmers to accept leasehold tenure in the midst of abundant economic opportunity." These terms included material help such as a year's provisions, farming equipment, seeds, livestock, and sometimes a house; secure (on all but Philipsburgh usually life-term) leases with an annual rent; and, in some cases, local services such as gristmills, sawmills, and stores; and, most important, equity in whatever improvements tenants made to their holdings in the form of buildings, orchards, fences, cleared fields, and gardens. Such enticements were especially appealing for people who lacked the resources necessary to purchase a freehold and make the large capital outlay required to start an independent farm.

Although the fortunes of individual tenants varied, most tended to manage these favourable conditions under these conditions to achieve a "good standard of living, especially—and surprisingly—when compared to freeholders in adjacent areas." Kim's argument for the manors' great influence on the colony's ability to move on to their own freeholds (leases turning over on an average of every ninth year) and some even obtained an equity in their leaseholds equal to that of the landlord. Thus functioned as "an asylum for the poor and impoverished" and, in many cases, as a step to an independent freehold, tenancy in colonial New York was neither oppressive nor degrading. A significant measure of tenant independence was the failure of landlords to exploit the prompt failure of landless tenants to produce the produce of their tenants. "Far more capitalistic...in character than feudal," Kim concludes, "the manors were thus essentially no more than a rental agency in money terms, through which the tenant, immediately upon entering into it, effectively transformed himself into a propertied man and a co-partner in the land with his landlord."

Far from producing "a seething kettle of discontents," then, the system prior to 1750, Kim argues powerfully, had yielded "a stable and peaceful manorial society" that permitted economic advancement. As evidence of the system's success, Kim points both to the low level of overt tenant opposition to landlords prior to 1750 and the growing reliance of manorial families upon rents. Whereas the founding and second generations of landlords were, except for the Van Rensselaers, principally merchants whose interests in their lands were clearly auxiliary to commerce, the third generation, which came into control during the middle of the eighteenth century, began to de-emphasize their commercial activities and "settle down as rentiers and sedentary country gentlemen."

Their repose was, however, interrupted in the 1750s by a balance sheet, along the disputed border between Massachusetts and Livingston Manor, though it quickly subsided following the settlement of the boundary in 1757. When erupted again over a much broader area, with Leisler's Rebellion, of 1766, it was acquired by a man who was partly as a result of his own policy

of lordship, which suffered a quick death in New York.

The difficulty of obtaining the landlords' economic power. The coming-up of American lands for agriculture set in motion a vast migration process that significantly extended to broad segments of European populations—the "yeoman psychology" upon which the manors constituted a formidable deterrent to the settlement of the great manors and the "persistent demographic disparity" between them and neighbouring areas throughout the early eighteenth century. In opposition to earlier scholars, however, Kim finds that during the fifty years before the American Revolution, "mounting pressures on land resources in the old settlements" and, prior to 1763, warfare on the frontiers, enabled the manors to achieve even more success in attracting settlers than the rest of the colony.

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a source of discontent among the tenants on his portion of Cortlandt Manor, did the rebellion take on the character of a classic tenant rising for better lease terms—the only such uprising in the whole history of the manors in colonial New York. As in the 1750s, the participation of some regular tenants indicated some dissatisfaction with landlords, but except for Stephen Van Cortlandt—the tenants of the rest of the proprietors of Cortlandt Manor remained quiet—the landlords came under attack in 1766, Kim contends, not because of their landlordism but because of their claims to certain disputed lands, and the overwhelming majority of their tenants conspicuously failed to join the rebellion. Kim interprets the failure of the rebellion to generate "a tidal wave of anti-landlord agitation" as certain proof that colonial tenants did not, for the most part, live under conditions they regarded as hard and oppressive, and the preoccupation of rebel leaders with the issue of "freehold property for themselves" as a clear indication that they were "neither social revolutionaries nor a jacquerie but simply petty land hoarders" whose "concern for property was as great as that of the landlords."

Such a hasty summary can scarcely convey an adequate appreciation of the richness and subtlety of Kim's analysis. He takes pains to point out exceptions to his argument, thus, he notes that many tenants did rebel against rents and shows that where, as on Philipsburgh Manor, they had tenure only at the will of the landlord, they were considerably more exploitable than was generally the case. Nevertheless, it is probable that Kim overemphasizes the virtues of the New York manor system. If favourable lease terms and other conditions combined to keep the vast majority of tenants quiet throughout the colonial period, the strong fear of tenant rebellion among the elite that was so widely manifested during and following the rebellion of 1766 strongly suggests that landlords themselves thought there was sufficient unhappiness among tenants to make them potential participants in a general uprising of the "canaille"—a fear that would seem to have been given at least some substance by the tendency, noted by several scholars of the American Revolution, of tenants to choose sides in the conflict in opposition to their landlords.

Yet, even if Kim has painted somewhat too rosy a picture of the New York manors, he has written an unusually valuable book that is not only a masterpiece of research but also a thoughtful and penetrating analysis of an important social institution in colonial America. Along with the works of Ritchie and others, it provides a striking example of how our comprehension of early America is being expanded and refined through the painstaking investigation of the conditions, institutions, and processes of colonial life. At the same time, it underlines further the extent to which the old liberal conception of the colonial experience as defined by two polar conflicts has so severely obscured its richness and complexity.

councils, already represented the interests of the dominant landowning slave-owners, merchants and lawyers, who for the most part controlled their own constituencies. Another difficulty in this analysis lay in Knox's own perception of the peculiar character of British colonies—that they were in fact led, not by a large peasantry, without the support of independent estates or great patronage.

Before American independence became a fact, both Knox's residence in Georgia and his continuing dependence on his estates there, interests that periodically influenced his recommendations. He saw clearly the fiscal difficulties entailed by the proposed Currency Bill of 1764, which he viewed as a "modification in the colonies' favour." He also considered that the Stamp Act would impose greater financial burdens than the colonies could ordinarily meet. It was precisely at this point, however, that his colonial sympathies collided with rather than supported his view of imperial interests, which fell firmly on the side of British authority. Although he had represented Georgia's interests well, and had argued them persuasively in an angry assembly, he missed his mark in his agency for having published an exposition of the sovereign power of parliament.

This intemperate act by the assembly confirmed one of Knox's convictions about colonial government. He had come home convinced that the representative elements in the colonial constitutions were too powerful to be consistent with the principles of mixed government, by which the interests of both the Empire and of the colonies themselves could best be served. As early as 1763, in a memorial drawn up for Shelburne, he proposed gradual steps towards the strengthening of royal governors and their councils. These matured into more extensive proposals in 1777. The difficulty was that the distribution of land and wealth did not appear to create the requisite base for the conventions of mixed government to work, and to remedy the defect Knox wanted to create a social structure more closely resembling that of Great Britain. Knox was certain that the assembly's power was too easily swayed by demagogues, and as early as 1763 he could say, "A Seat in his Majesty's Council is become a standing Object of Patriotic devotion in all the Colonies." The observation was premature, but as prognosis it was acute. Subsequent historians have too easily taken observations of this kind to mean simply that the colonies were "democratic," overlooking what Knox was the great difficulty with the colonial assemblies, not the

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Soaring above the sawdust

By George Speaight

MONICA J. RENEVEY (Editor):
Le grand livre du cirque
Volume 1: 456pp
Volume 2: 448pp
Paris/Lausanne: Bibliothèque des Arts, 297fr.

DOMINIQUE JANDO:
Histoire mondiale du cirque
212pp. Paris: Jean-Pierre Delarge, 220fr.

A. H. SAXON:
The Life and Art of Andrew Ducrow and the Romantic Age of the English Circus
511pp. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, \$25.

The circus has been better served by its painters than by its historians. True, the historian of this essentially visual art is faced with particular difficulties. Playbills and programmes are scarce, and when they exist are often vague and full of lies; generations of performers appeared under identical names; or the same performers appeared under different names, sometimes in two parts of the same programme. It is often difficult to know what exactly took place at any particular performance. And then there is the question of scale: the circus is an international art, and it is often difficult to know what exactly took place at any particular performance. And then there is the question of scale: the circus is an international art, and it is often difficult to know what exactly took place at any particular performance.

Now two works in French attempt this daunting task. *Le grand livre du cirque* is a truly imposing production, in two large volumes, written by an international team, with chapters on the circus in all the chief countries of the world and on the various special acts. It is illustrated in profusion with what must be over 2,000 illustrations, many of them in colour, though sometimes too small for the detail to be seen properly and not always identified as fully as one might wish. This is certainly the most ambitious work on the circus to have been published, though it cannot entirely displace Henri Thérard's *La merveilleuse histoire du cirque* of 1947, that flawed masterpiece which expired on its last pages with an index without any page numbers.

The circus in England is dealt with by Antony Hippisley Cox and that in America by A. H. Saxon—names that will inspire confidence. The most original feature of Cox's contribution is a study of the wide-spreading connections of the famous Clarke family of circus performers, and this may serve as an epitome of many other circus families who have established a true blood-brotherhood across the frontier of nations.

What *Le grand livre du cirque* attempts with sixteen contributors, Dominique Jando attempts by himself. Though inevitably with a less detailed text, he provides a good general survey of the subject, but with a convenient guide to the circus acts that are currently performed, but the problem here is that it is difficult to describe in words a feat of physical skill and visual beauty. Strubly, who would write at the beginning of this century of the flying trapeze as "the majestic epic of the clouds with its lyric poetry, its grandiose inspiration, but richer in art."

Jando's book, also, is admirably illustrated, and the drawings made by Madelonelle Vesque in the Parisian circuses in the 1920s are outstanding for the technical information they convey. The lack of an index, however, severely limits the usefulness of this work.

The second over-simplification lies in implying that Philip Astley invented the modern circus when he opened his riding exhibition in Lambeth in 1768. Astley certainly deserves credit for the drive and business skill with which he popularized throughout England and France what is the essence of circus—performances with acrobats and trained animals in a ring. But performances in a circular or squared enclosure, with acrobats, ropedancers and trained animals had been taking place in various places in Europe for over a hundred years before Astley established his famous amphitheatre. They took place in bear gardens and in London, in the Fenchurch and Nuremberg, and in the Hetz Amphitheater in Vienna.

These performances lacked displays of equestrianism, and it was, indeed, the addition of trick horsemanship to other traditional feats of horsemanship that brought the circus to its present state. The circus, as we know it, had been given by Englishmen several years before Astley came to the scene. Astley may have been responsible for standardizing the size of the circus ring, but he was not the first man to give riding displays in a ring; he was the first man to combine blue riding displays with acrobatic feats. He actually originated comparatively little himself, but the men who preceded him are, I think,

With the Bard on the boards

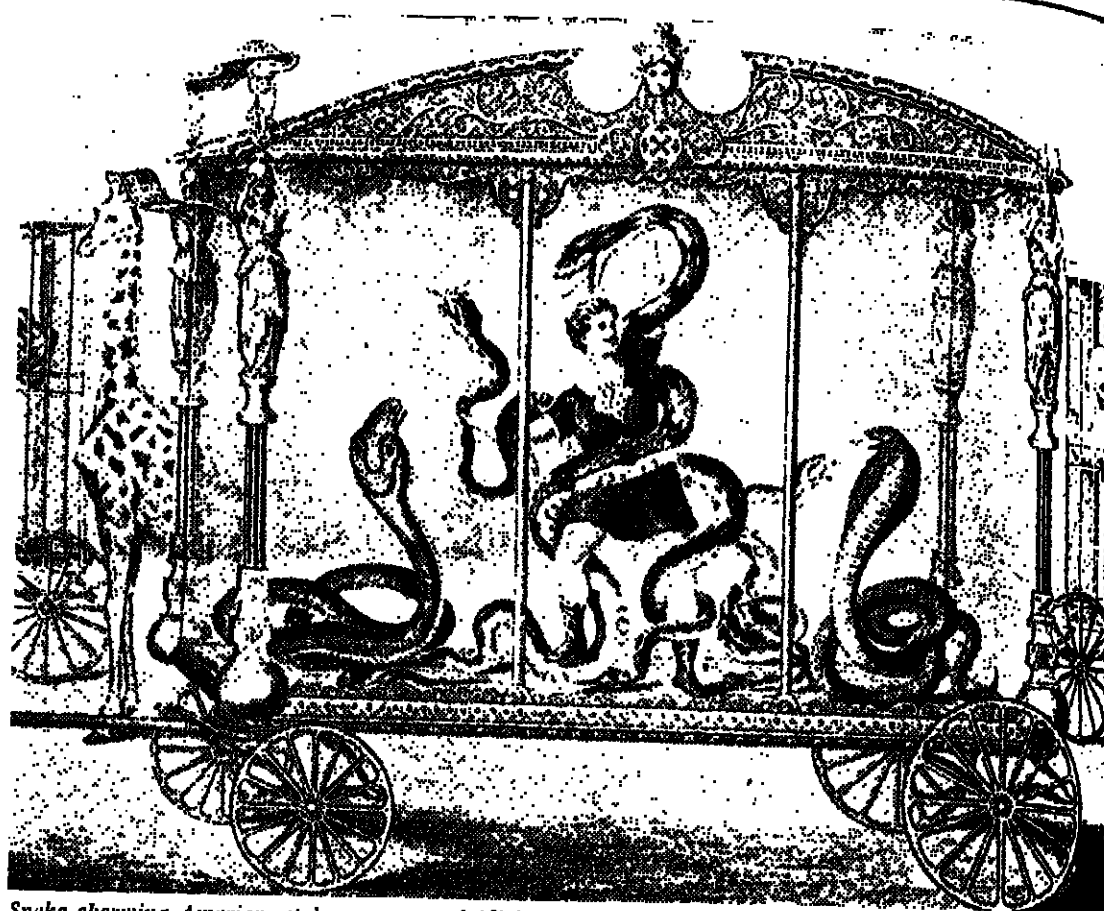
By Stanley Wells

J. C. TREWIN:
Going to Shakespeare
288pp. Allen and Unwin, £6.95.

J. C. Trewin has been "going to Shakespeare" for well over fifty years, but his earliest experience of the dramatist came, he tells us, at the age of eight-and-a-half when his parents' copy of the works "slipped to the rug from a crowded top shelf." In it he read *Henry VI*, and the line "Branch your crystal tresses in the mind" of the great beam of the Lizard Light, which he could see through his bedroom window. Mr. Trewin is not content with being Cornish!

A boy whose imagination was fired by this earliest of the history plays could only progress in a forward direction, and he rapidly developed a familiarity with the whole canon; but he had to wait thirty-seven years before hearing Redford's line spoken from the on his stage as a theatre critic, of which this book is an early fruit. He can draw on memories of over 1,500 performances of Shakespeare, mostly, but not all, in Britain. And every page bears witness to his responsiveness to the words as well as dramatic power which has always given special distinction to his notices of poetic plays.

Going to Shakespeare is, in many ways, a book of interest to the



Snake charming American-style: a poster of 1874, one of the 183 "rare and unusual illustrations" reproduced in Great Circus Street Parade by Charles Philip Fox and P. Beverly Kelley (127pp. Dover/Constable, Paperback, £3.25).

entitled to rather more credit than they receive here.

Théophile Gautier well described the circus as "the opera of the eye" and it is essentially a richly visual subject, which leads publishers to crumple their books on this subject with marvellously evocative pictures. But the result is that one of these books is likely to cost nearly £30 and the other nearly £60 in English bookshops. Mere seekers after knowledge, as well as libraries with limited budgets and overcrowded shelves, are surely entitled to something more within their means. Moreover, grateful though circus lovers must be for these books, they are not the only ones on the subject. The circus deserves to be studied in a more serious way than it is. A. H. Saxon, a writer who has already made a major contribution to the allied subject of hippodrama in his *Enter, Foot and Horse*.

Andrew Ducrow was the most famous circus performer in the world between about 1820 and his death in 1842. He was an expert rope-dancer, animal trainer, and circus manager, but he is chiefly noted

for his pantomimes on horseback—acts in which he would mime ballets d'action while posing on a horse's back as it cantered round the ring. This form of entertainment may seem extraordinary to us today, but it elicited such superlative praise in its day, and from discriminating judges too, that we would be rash to dismiss them to the same category as Johnson's woman preaching.

The fact seems to have been that he was a mime of genius, to be classed with John Rich, Jean Gaspard Debureau and Marcel Matceau, effective on the stage as well as on horseback, and that the circus was a place where he could show his expertise or superficial gimmick created an almost certain-like unity between man and horse in a presentation about as close to the essential elements of theatre and circus. Ducrow deserves to be placed with Edmund Kean and Marie Taglioni as one of the great performers of the Romantic Age. The numerous illustrations reproduced in this book, many from popular prints of the time, effectively

conjure up the impression made upon his audiences.

All this is admirably brought out in a work that is a model of scholarship and a marathon of research. Saxon has hacked his way through the long grass of abundant provincial "glimpses" and composites and burrowed into dusty stacks of long-forgotten archives to bring to light this man who once amused thousands as he rode round a ring. The result is a long but so much detail really helps in telling the story of a circus rider? Merely to pose the question betrays our artistic snobishness. I take a great artist like Chopin to remind us that the circus is a thousand-year-old dance, where the play of limbs and ends the form of a great art. One may hope that the story of Ducrow will some day be told in a wider compass, and with this pen of a Sachseverell Strwell, but meanwhile a whole era of what is rightly described in the title as the Romantic Age of the English Circus is here displayed in a work that sets a new standard in circus history.

Leskov had the strength of character not to take to drink, unlike many of his contemporaries in similar circumstances. From his obstinate but high-minded father he inherited a longing for righteousness, which he collected in the Bible readings, which made him constantly seek for men of genuine goodness, in whatever walk of life. He soon discovered that these were not to be found among the radical or nihilist journals, but among the conservative, which he had been considering his natural allies. Early in his newspaper career he quarrelled furiously with the secularists of revolution, was "expelled" by them from literature (which meant that all popular publications were closed to him), and he was driven into exile with their arch-enemies, the nationalist conservatives of the Moscow school under Katkov, editor of the monthly *Russkoye Slovo*. This was the period (1865-1880) when much of his best work was done and he was able to live and work in relative calm, helped materially as well as morally by his faithful mistress, Catherine Bubnova. They could not marry, but she bore him a remarkable son, Andrei (the author of his biography), and gave him some at least of the peace which he demanded as a right. This period of contented peace did not last long.

Leskov, in truth, was a man of monumental irritability, prone to quarrelling irreconcilably with others. By 1875 he had discovered he could not work with Katkov any more than with the liberals or radicals of any shade. Some powerful friends at court had won him the office of the Empress Maria Alexandrovna (wife of Alexander II) and obtained for him minor government posts; but these were ill-paid and brought him much humiliation. Otherwise he had to pick up any journalistic work that offered, such as a translation from the Polish about young ladies, editing articles for the minor religious monthly, or more important items for the *Russkoye Slovo*. Even

of this experience in a very long life, he was sure to enhance that of his readers.

MUCH McLEAN:
Nikolai Leskov
The Man and His Art
796pp. Harvard University Press, £21.

The genius of Nikolai Semenovich Leskov (1831-1895) was complex in the extreme. He had his spiritual roots among the idealist seminarians of the early nineteenth century, a group which included his own father. Leskov cannot be placed in any convenient category of school. He was a specialist in evading censorship by editors or officials, and a master of irony and ridicule—a master, too, in the accumulation of dreadful detail in an unemphatic, "natural" manner, and capable of producing appalling impressions of horror, cruelty and deceit against a background of grim humour or uproarious farce.

Though coming from a background of minor gentry and officials, and with many of his forebears clerics and merchants, he was brought up in poverty, and suffered deep humiliation at the hands of rich relations in his childhood. His formal education, at an insular provincial "gymnasium," ended when he was fifteen, and he made no attempt after that to get on to the only road to advancement open to a poor boy—a university diploma or degree. He was forced to make his way among the lowest ranks of the underpaid provincial bureaucracy between the ages of fifteen and twenty-six, and during the next three years he travelled over much of Russia as a clerk and business factotum for his English uncle, Alexander Scott, an enterprising estate agent. Added to this, at the age of twenty-two he married a woman of Finnish character who eventually went mad, but whom he was unable to divorce; so it is not surprising that by the time he was thirty he had collected a great deal of sinister as well as entertaining experience, and that his moods tended to vary between extremes of roistering in the lower depths and gloom. Journalism, which was emerging from the conservatism of Nicholas I, gave him a fresh start; it also brought him close to fresh disasters.

Some of the prelates he described in, for example, *Meloch* (1878-79), were almost suitably figures, but there is a frequently recurring contrast in his writings between the goodness and simplicity of plain priests and demons like the Tuborovs and Achillas of "Cathedral Folk" and the unfeeling arrogance and cynical duplicity of bishops such as the archbishop of Moscow and Smolensk of Orel and Vilna of Moscow. Leskov was a vindictive man and the root of this venom was fed by his deep resentment at the Church's attitude towards the "hell" of unhappy marriages like his own which could not be annulled in practice except by the rich and powerful. What he saw as the obstructiveness, cynicism and corruption of the consistory and synodal courts was at the bottom of his ever-increasing longing for the hierarchy and his rapprochement with Tolstoy's latter-day evangelical primitivism, though he never could accept Tolstoy's views on sex or non-resistance and indeed held his disciples up to some derision in "A Winter's Day".

What was peculiar to Leskov was his personal animosity he infused into these feuds which filled so large a part of his life. He could never admit he had been in the wrong. His friendships collapsed easily and he rarely supported a cause without from time to time

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No matter that this uneasy association with Suvarin did not last for long, nor that the suspension of the sixth volume of the collected works by the censorship in 1889 was a blow to Leskov's financial independence, his association with Suvarin was a most important one. Suvarin, made his temper even more unbearable, and finally killed him in 1895. The products of Leskov's astounding versatility and creative power were now for the first time assembled for the benefit of a public that had never previously known him whole.

A great deal of his controversial journalism and his two long anti-nihilist novels, with their over-complicated plots, was not outstanding. The best proportion of the ten volumes published in 1888-89 consisted of short to medium-length stories, averaging fifty to a hundred pages and first published in the periodical press; two later volumes were posthumously printed. Leskov's stories do not add a great deal to his reputation. Leskov was not a Sakayev or Chekhov or Gorky, but in his knowledge of Russia, Russian idioms and all classes of Russian, he surpassed all three, during a period when he could not be compared easily and he rarely supported a cause without from time to time

turning savagely on his backers. He was against anti-Semitism, but that did not prevent him from using cruel (and amusing) fun of the occasional Jewish victim. He loved Paris and Marienbad and vilified Kulkov, his one-time patron, as an imbecile prophet for nationalism, imbeciles when he died in 1887, but he had his own xenophobic lapses

The message of the rocks

By John Sturrock

And as with his first apprentice encounters with the "obtusor-cier," so now with rocks and stones, Caillois appreciates these in the first place as the "immuable inhuman"; they were in the world before we were and they are likely to be still there after mankind has gone—he is quick to rousest the clues of symmetry where he finds gross evidence of asymmetry, and looks somewhat misanthropically forward to the time when organic life has been swept from the planet.

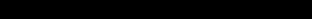
is
as it was before modern accident
first vitalized it. Callois appreciates
his rocks too for the forms and col-
ours they exhibit, and for their sug-
gestive affinities with the forms and
colours invented by human artists.
This is further proof of the deep
connection between the material and
mental worlds. The crystalline ge-
ometry of the rocks produces in him
a state of "quiet fever", but even
that, as one might think, ineffable
state is given a full and absorbing
specification in this remarkable *vo-
yage philosophique*.

La fleur de Alphée is a dauntingly
intelligent, finely written book in

two of them

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1940



Sunday Telegraph
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One only wishes that these journals had more to reveal about this creative ambivalence, so central to the anthropologist's art. Efficiently annotated with a useful index, they make a useful contribution to the history of the subject.

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Road to nowhere

By Sean McConvill

OWEN GILL :
Luke Street
Housing Policy, Conflict and the
Creation of the Delinquent Area
 207pp. Macmillan. £10 (paperback,
 £3.50).

Every city and town of any size has a Luke Street. It consists of old and decaying houses and miscellaneous facilities. Its lifestyle is unsquashed as the material surroundings. Many of the families are large, with young and closely-spaced children. Domestic breakdown is common. Income is low and many men and most boys are unemployed or only irregularly in work. Residents engage a good deal in crime, usually petty thefts. Adolescents hang out in gangs, congregate together, and often have a reputation for criminality. They have acquired a reputation for their own special notoriety for violent and vandalistic behaviour. The area breaks the hearts and spirits of successive generations of workers, who come to look upon it as the social waste land, to be by the town hall and the police. Endless court cases and frequent scandals keep this infamy of the street fresh in the mind of the wider community: the local newspapers and caricatures it, and professionally would grieve its passing.

The Luke Street of Owen Gill's study is municipally owned. He argues that the local authorities, through their housing and housing allocation policies, are responsible for its difficulties, in that their policies led to a critical concentration of larger "problem" families. In an aggravation of the concentration, tenants with the means and more conventional lifestyle were moved out to the suburbs and better housing, so the reputation which Luke Street developed exacerbated the difficulties which its inhabitants had with employers, police and the courts. He suggests that the process and the consequences of these three interrelated sociological themes—theology of social relations, subcultural conflict, and social labelling,

Although Mr Ghill draws inspiration from his chosen sociological theories and uses them to organise his material, it might have been easier had he adopted more wholeheartedly the approach of an older writer who established a tradition of cack-raking and slum-poration writers such as Mayhew, Booth, Sinclair and Orwell. Indeed, his book ends with a quotation from an urban ethnographer, 'The cities forgotten' even up for replacing illusions with social reality'. For Mr Ghill, however, the sociological theories are used to some extent the advantage conveyed on him by his resources, ideas and expressed necessity and clearly expressed sympathy for his subjects.

Class conscious

By Sonia Jackson

HERBERT KOHL :
On Teaching
185pp. Methuen. £3.95.

Herbert Kohl was one of that group of gifted American teachers who in the 1960s created a sensation by writing about schools as they are and not as we might wish them to be. What is more, he wrote in English instead of the extraordinary polysyllabic jargon with which so many American "educators" endeavor their commonplace thoughts.

This little book is a practical guide for newly qualified teachers, rather appealing mixture of home-run philosophy and Monday-morning tips. Some of the advice might

m a bit obvious to a well-trained English primary school teacher, and one of it rather bizarre. How many parents would welcome their child's teacher to breakfast, for example? Even a close friend might be an unwanted guest at 7.30 on a school morning. Perhaps the suggestion reflects different daily rhythms on the other side of the Atlantic.

ut oddly, the most interesting
ter, "The Politics of Education
, is also the one where the
rast between the American and
lish school systems is most evi-
t. As it turns out, the common
an factors matter much more
the unfamiliar context.

Herbert Kohl's analysis of the insurmountable obstacles to change is realistic but never hopeless. Above all, he is a survivor. As idealistic as the best teachers just out of college, he did well to remember, "It is no value to anyone to get wiped out too soon."

Dr Alex de Jonge

Michael Holquist's *Dostoevsky and the Novel* is a most stimulating work by a critic who comes to his subject dominated by one idea: that, as here, the idea really is central to the writer and his age. It is an approach which can make for an illuminating kind of criticism. It must be said that the idea itself is not altogether a new one. But this does not invalidate it any less. Michael Holquist sees Dostoevsky's work as the culmination of a certain kind of nineteenth-century work which takes the problem of

of the individuality of the self, and its relationship to other selves and the world as its chief concern. He suggests that this makes it a particularly appropriate form for a country's national identity under its *prokhvatnoye* ideology, the pursuit of which, he suggests, is a historic role suggesting a correspondence between form and content and a culture that is near but not identical. The introduction describes this as a Russian search for a non-existent national cultural heritage. There was a crisis of identity recognized by writers such as Chadaev, who felt that Russia was kind of a limbo of continuity or history, suggesting that Russians were particularly well placed to experience a sense of void and lack of ontological stability. Chadaev's view of his age as being in a dire need of a past, of a tradition, of a history, was a common theme. It was a general phenomenon: loss of self in enduring values which could only provoke a certain kind of writer, Barrès or Maurras, in order to according value to tradition as such as a means to a new end.

From this premise Mr Holquist proceeds to a compelling analysis of the metaphysical rootlessness of

brought on by the death of
 God, knocking a tearing to
 eternity and the escape from time
 Escape from time and history into
 the epiphany of eternity, or its in-
 teral reflection, that *paradis artificiel*
 time becomes the age's equivalent of
 seeking to return to Ithaca. Existence
 in time and history, man felt him-
 self to have become the defensible
 victim of change and alteration.
 (One is tempted to contrast this con-
 dition with the unchanging pattern
 of pre-Petrine Russia founded in po-
 tential. One wore the same dress
 sometimes even the same garment
 as one's ancestor, living in the
 of unaltering ritual, in which the
 itself was not the mechanical

By J. S. Atherton

PHILLIP F. HERRING (Editor) :
Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for
Ulysses
Selections from the Buffalo Collec-
tion
287pp. Charlottesville: University
Press of Virginia (Trans-Atlantic
Book Service). £27.50.

BUZETTE A. HENKE :
Joyce's Maraculous Sindbook
 278pp. Columbus: Ohio State Uni
 versity Press (Pandemic). £9.75.

These two volumes, additions to the long list of books about *Ulysses*, are of very different kinds. Phillips Herring's is a work of careful, traditional scholarship. He has already produced a transcript of the *Ulysses* notes by Joyce in the Harvard-Yenching Library; he has now followed that with transcripts from Joyce's notes and early versions of *Ulysses* in the Lockwood Library at Buffalo. Herring introduces implies that he has worked for ten years to produce this new collection. Having worked for some time myself on both collections, I can say that they are almost illegible but have been transcribed by Herring with admirable accuracy. Serious students of him.

ne privileged moment is no more than a moment, it fails to constitute a turning point, the start of new life.

Mr Holquist also provides a more accessible reading of *The Unsettled*, again in terms of a conflict between two worlds—in Mr Holquist's words the world of harmony and the world of becoming and succession. But becoming, he argues, is a process in time, and it is this process that produces the eventual reconciliation with the inevitable triumph of temporality and succession, of the kind experienced at the end of *Education for a Sentimental Man*, and such defeat born of *our* *avoir* is something that we can never understand or even understand of even as ironic success. He gives us his series of Antichrists, false prophets seeking his yearning for authentic heady. He will never concede the heady can never be.

[illegible]

the unique individual concerned, hence the self-made figure of the dandy for example, but to claim that Dostoevsky's characters cease to become figures in a novel as an achievement more appropriate to *Le Faux Monnayeur* or other postmodern twentieth-century stuff. Dostoevsky's characters do not say "enfin quel roman que vie!" They are in search of enduring epiphany, they do seek to be characters in novels for the very reason that they tend to be about such questions. It is a form of inclusion which is foreign to them. Their hell is a hell here on earth not a hell stories.

a new and trustworthy source of information. Many diverse sources for Joyce's material are pointed out, ranging from Bertrand Russell's *Principia Mathematica* to an *Hand-Book for Gibraltar*. All transcriptions are carefully stated, with any points which are to the author to need it carefully explained.

Elizabeth A. Henke is a fellow at the Center for the Study of Language and Literature at the University of California, Berkeley. She is a linguist and a literary scholar, and has published on both subjects. She is currently working on a book about the history of the novel in the United States.

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Chartered Librarian required to provide print and non-print resources for courses in health and community studies. A degree in the social sciences would be an advantage and applicants should have some experience of work in academic libraries.

INFORMATION SPECIALIST FOR LIBRARY TECHNICAL SERVICES

Qualified Librarian with management ability and cataloguing experience required to form part of a team of professional staff preparing and organising the Polytechnic's catalogue input into BLOAP.

Further details and application forms from Personnel Officer, Brighton Polytechnic, Moulesmead, Brighton BN2 4GJ. Tel. Brighton 60065. Ext. 2535. Closing date 22nd September, 1978.

HIGHLAND REGIONAL COUNCIL
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
SCHOOL LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the above post from Chartered Librarians or persons holding a postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship.

The successful applicant will be responsible for the operation of the School Library/Resource Centre and for the primary schools in the area. The applicant will also be expected to give general professional guidance to unqualified Librarians serving in small neighbouring schools. This post involves a 32 hour working week for 47 weeks of which 3 weeks represent annual leave to be taken during the school vacation, for which a salary of £2,673.12 p.a. plus supplement of £243 p.a. is payable.

Application forms are obtainable from and returnable to the Personnel Officer, Regional Buildings, Charnwood Road, Leicestershire, by Thursday, 28th September, 1978.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

is seeking a
Director of
University of
Manitoba Press

Interested applicants please apply in writing to: Mr M. T. Robson, Staff Development & Employment Office, Room 203 Administration Bldg., University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2.

MONASH
UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF
ENGLISH

TUTOR

Applications are invited from highly qualified graduates in English. Appointees will be expected to tutor initially in the University's English 100, but those with special interests in Old and Middle English, Australian Literature or American Literature may also have opportunities for teaching at senior levels in those fields. Salary: \$A10,788-\$12,762 per annum. Application procedure available from the Academic Registrar, Monash University, Victoria Road, Clayton, Victoria 3168. Enquiries to the Chairperson, Professor A. Green, 2188. Closing date 30 September 1978.

LONDON BOROUGH
OF HOUSLOW

LIBRARIAN

AP 2/3 £3,944-£4,481 inclusive. Chartered Librarians or those successfully completing the first examination of the Library Association (or the equivalent) for this post, which is interchangeable with the same grade and will therefore provide experience of most aspects of modern library service. Initial placing will refer to the successful applicant's interests and experience. Progression beyond £3,936 is dependent upon qualifications. Application forms and further details from Assistant Director of Arts and Education, (Chief Librarian), Civic Centre, Hounslow Road, Hounslow TW3 4DN. Tel. 01-875 7725. ext. 3976. Closing date: 22 September, 1978.

REMINDER

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Senior Professor of Comparative Literature

To be head of the Comparative Literature Section in the Department of Literature; responsible for overseeing and teaching in both a PhD program in Comparative Literature and a BA program in General Literature. Advanced research degree and appropriate publications required. Salary commensurate with experience and professional achievement. Candidates should be able to provide instruction in one or more of the following areas: Antiquity, Middle Ages, Renaissance, Early Modern Period, and should, from a comparative perspective, have scholarly critical competence in a number of the following literatures: Chinese, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, English, American, French, German, Spanish and Russian. Among other interests of importance to the department are Literary Theory, Translation and Creative Writing.

Inquiries and applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Search Committee, Professor Roy Harvey Pearce, Department of Literature, B-0001, University of California San Diego, La Jolla, California, USA.

Application (which must include vita, bibliography and references) deadline: November 15, 1978.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO,
IS AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY/AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
EMPLOYER

THE MEDICAL COLLEGE OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

(University of London)
West Smithfield, London EC1A 7BE

LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Librarian to be in charge of two libraries, one in the Pre-clinical School and one in the Clinical School on the St. Bartholomew's Hospital site. The Medical College possesses a comprehensive medical and scientific library with an important historical section, and with access to computerised sources of information. With the aid of a strong Audio-Visual Department, a range of teaching programmes is being developed with the aim of providing a comprehensive source of information for teaching and research. The College is seeking a professional Librarian, preferably with experience in the medical field, who would be interested in the modern methods of collecting, presenting and distributing information to staff and students. Salary, in accordance with experience, on the University scales for senior library staff. Applications (five copies) together with the names of two referees, should be sent by 30 October to the Dean of the Medical College at the above address, from whom further particulars may be obtained.

THE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
LIBRARY AND INFORMATION
SCIENCE ABSTRACTS

EDITOR

Applications are invited for the challenging position of Editor to LISA, the appointment to take effect from 1st January, 1979. We wish to fill the post before the end of 1978, so that the transfer of duties from the present Editor to the new can take place as smoothly as possible. Candidates must be Chartered Librarians with a wide range of interest in the professional literature; the ability to write clearly, concisely and accurately; a high level of administrative skills sufficient to knit together the complex library staff and the outside panel of foreign language abstractors. Computerised production techniques are employed so expertise in this area would be an additional advantage. Salary is on a scale £5,985-£6,816 p.a. according to experience. Further details are available from the Publishing Manager, Editors of LISA, (to arrive not later than 25th September, 1978) should be sent to the Publishing Manager, The Library Association, 7 Ridgmount Street, London WC1E 7AE.

Dartington College
of ArtsResources
Officer

(Lecturer Grade II £4,101-£6,558)

The College wishes to appoint a Resources Officer to manage its Library and Resources services and to administer a number of special facilities such as the Schools Council Music Education Centre. Candidates should be graduates with appropriate professional library qualifications and, preferably, experience of work in higher education. A knowledge of music and the arts is essential.

Further details and an application form may be obtained from:
The Senior Administrative Officer, Dartington College of Arts, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6EJ.

Temporary
Library
Assistant

The National Water Council Library comprising 8,000 books, pamphlets and reports and 270 periodicals plays an important role in providing vital information for the Council and for the UK water industry as a whole.

We now need a Library Assistant for our team, a young and enthusiastic man or woman, ideally with a qualification in librarianship and some experience, although you could well be newly qualified. You will join us for at least three months (to replace someone on maternity leave), gaining valuable experience in all aspects of library work, from the ordering and distribution of periodicals to general cataloguing and assisting in the preparation of the Council's weekly house newspaper, 'Bulletin'.

Salary is £304 a month and good benefits include Luncheon Vouchers and a holiday allowance of 11 days per month worked plus Bank Holidays.

For more information and an application form, which should be returned by Friday, September 22, 1978, please contact Mr. R. H. Pamplin, Assistant Secretary (Establishments), National Water Council, 1 Queens Quay Gate, London SW1H 9BT. Tel. 01-830 3100.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
LIBRARIES DIVISION

CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN

AP4, £3,933-£4,320 plus £285 London Weighting at £312 Salary Supplement. Chartered Librarian required in busy, modern Borough Library. Application forms and further details obtainable from Borough Librarian, Central Library, St. Nicholas Way, Sutton, Surrey SM1 1EA. Tel. 01-561 5026. Closing date, 22nd September, 1978.

LONDON BOROUGH OF
SUTTON

T.L.S.

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